

Hogarth's *Marriage A-la-Mode*: the dialectic between precision and ambiguity

Werner Busch

The reception of Hogarth in the eighteenth century and the present state of research

From their first appearance Hogarth's engravings attracted explanatory commentary. His third major narrative series, *Marriage A-la-Mode*, had scarcely appeared as engravings when Jean André Rouquet published his letters in French in 1746, addressed 'to some friends in Paris to explain the meaning of Mr. Hogarth's prints'.¹ Hogarth, who was on close terms with Rouquet, sent these explanations to Paris dealers to accompany his prints. He clearly accepted Rouquet's interpretation, and hoped that its publication would reinforce the impact of the prints. At the beginning of the first letter Rouquet claimed that they needed explanation, and later commentators have made the same point: Hogarth's characters are indeed universal, but the circumstances in which they appear are so typically English that their context needed to be made explicit to foreigners if the prints were to be understood.²

This view was shared by those in the Germanic countries. In 1753 Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty* appeared, and by December of the same year a translation was finished by Christlob Mylius, a cousin of Lessing, and it appeared at the beginning of the next year in Hanover. In the foreword he referred to Rouquet's helpful commentaries,³ but he also recognised that they did little more than tell the story and make it understandable in terms of contemporary London. For Mylius Hogarth's engravings offered more: 'Here is real nature, morality and satire; here everything speaks and everything is in action'.⁴ This is well observed, and it is the first time that the verbal qualities of Hogarth's prints are noted, and that there is much to be seen beyond the bare structure of the narrative. In the same year, 1754, Lessing put out a second, corrected edition of Mylius's Hogarth translation, with his own preface, and a printing of a translation of Rouquet's letters. Hogarth's text in this collection, especially as it had Lessing's preface, became along with the principle of

the line of beauty (based, as Lessing had already noticed, on the mathematician Antoine Parent's idea in 1700), a source for German aesthetics from Mendelssohn to Goethe.⁵ Mendelssohn's remarks in the *Briefe über Empfindung* (*Letters on Feeling*) of 1755 were sent by the Berlin publisher Nicolai in 1759 to Christian Ludwig von Hagedorn, who responded with a sixty-page treatise on Hogarth's idea of a line of beauty, which was published in the Leipzig *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste*. This was followed in the next year by a treatise 'on the gifts and works of Mr Hogarth and especially his caricatures'. Both treatises were printed again as appendices to his voluminous *Betrachtungen über die Mahlerey* (*Observations on Painting*) of 1762, which is over 800 pages long.⁶ This demonstrates the remarkable breadth of Hogarth's reputation in Germany in his own lifetime in regard to both his theoretical work and his prints.

In England, immediately after his death, Hogarth's achievement was subjected to wide-ranging historical evaluation and critical discussion. Because his work was predominantly satirical, and therefore connected to contemporary life and events, he was often placed on an artistic level significantly below that of the Italian history painting of earlier centuries. By drawing on literary theory, and with the support of Fielding, he had defined a genre of his own, that of 'modern moral subjects', which he claimed to be intermediate between tragedy and comedy, but, because it was based on 'real' life, it could claim for itself an equal standing with classical history paintings.⁷ Hogarth's contemporaries had no difficulty in recognising him as a master of the depiction of character, but were unwilling to accept him as a painter of history. Thus a fatal divide opened up between Hogarth as an illustrator of contemporary life and morality, and Hogarth the painter, whose works were an offence against the classical rules of art. His widow sought to counteract the equivocal nature of his reputation by proposing that he was above all an artist with a strong moral voice, and she attempted to purge his work and reputation of the subversive tendencies of satire. Supported by the widow, the Revd. John Trusler proclaimed Hogarth as a force for virtue. Between 1766 and 1768 his *Hogarth Moralized* appeared in fourteen parts, and in 1768 in book form, with tiny reproductions of Hogarth's major engravings.⁸ The size and technique in themselves flattened Hogarth, while Trusler's preaching tone reinforced the supposed moral straightforwardness of the *oeuvre*. This reductive picture of Hogarth as a simple moralist has had a long life; indeed even in a recent catalogue we can read the claim that 'Hogarth the moralist made his points with determination and without ambiguity'.⁹

Horace Walpole had little time for Hogarth as a history painter – indeed as a painter at all – but he was the only contemporary artist to be found worthy of a chapter to himself in his *Anecdotes of Painting in England*. Because of the feelings of the widow Walpole did not publish the volume until 1780, and diluted his criticisms of Hogarth in the edition of 1782. Despite Walpole's own commitment to the classical tradition, he understood Hogarth's stature on the basis of literary theory, 'considering him rather as a writer of comedy with a pencil, than as a painter'.¹⁰ He was particularly sensitive to the essentially literary framework in which Hogarth

operated. He notes that Hogarth does not resort to simple allegory, but that he expressed emblematic reflections by means of humour rather than symbolism.¹¹ Humour is expressed in the contradictory relationships within the picture itself, instead of in symbols that possess less specific traditional connotations. Wit could be experienced, symbols merely understood. Wit also gives a power to pictures that in the last resort cannot be controlled; symbols exhaust themselves in being recognised. Wit is concrete but also relative and associative; symbols are abstract, but also definitive because they are absolute. Wit opens up what symbols close down.

No one understood this better than Lichtenberg. He based his commentaries on the collected works of the English biographers and interpreters, especially John Nichols (1781, 1782, 1785), an anonymous author (Samuel Felton?, 1785), whom Lichtenberg called the 'Ungenannte', and John Ireland (1791, 1793),¹² and his own researches in London. On the other hand all his study did not hinder his tendency to use knowledge in a playful way, through word association and word games. His ability to draw out Hogarth's humour has always been marvelled at, but it has generally been ascribed to his particular literary talent, rather than as an interpretative response to specific features of Hogarth's art.¹³ History of art, especially in the tradition of Panofsky's iconology, has long found the meaning of a work in a process of reconstructing the 'conpetto' intended by the artist and/or the patron, as a self-contained text, transformed effectively into visual currency. Though art historians have always accepted that there can be a number of levels of interpretation, and have sometimes ordered them into a hierarchy of meanings, official and unofficial, they have tended to see these different levels as both internally consistent and separate from each other. So in the case of Hogarth's prints it was seen to be perfectly legitimate to suggest a variety of readings, and to see them unreflectingly as existing on the same plane, or as complementary to each other.

A simple moral interpretation has tended to prevail until recent times,¹⁴ following in the tradition of Trusler and the whole 19th century, and this is surely because it is the one least troubled by the need for detailed knowledge. Such a method of interpretation represents a kind of shortcut. It allows for social-historical and social-critical interpretation (Antal, Hinz),¹⁵ because it appears to be legitimately historically grounded, and Hogarth finds an obvious place here among the progressive bourgeoisie of the time. Other less expansive interpretations have anchored an understanding of Hogarth's work (most often confined to *Marriage A-la-Mode*) to a range of different strategies of interpretation: literary-theoretical debates in the eighteenth century around the novel (Paulson),¹⁶ the genre of satire (Bindman)¹⁷ or of stage comedy (Klinger Lindberg).¹⁸ Judy Egerton has expanded the possibilities of analogy with language by emphasising Hogarth's pictorial use of proverbs and popular aphorisms.¹⁹ In addition to the transference of meaning from one medium to another, there has been a focus on Hogarth's special use of pictorial tradition and the iconographic patterns that can be observed (Paulson, Busch).²⁰ This last approach stands apart from the others, in implying that Hogarth deliberately brought the sacramental forms of Christian iconography into a conjunction with contemporary

themes. An awareness of a discrepancy between the old forms and the new subject matter has the effect of engaging the observer in a process which involves raising the question of the validity of Christian tradition in the present, and thus highlights the questionable morality that prevails in contemporary society. In this way Hogarth opens up further questions about the language and the role of art.

Now one could claim that all those interpretations connect with some part of Hogarth's intentions, and thus contribute to a fuller idea of the whole or 'true' meaning of his works. It is undeniable that they have all given some special insight into Hogarth's art, and no one would dispute the moral, social-critical, genre theoretical or other aesthetic dimensions that it possesses. Even so one might question the assumption that there is ultimately a knowable meaning, however many-sided, for any single work. As Lichtenberg was aware, 'satire's strength is always double-edged', and he knew that Hogarth, 'out of the inexhaustible treasury of his language of signs', gave great importance to nuance. Lichtenberg took upon himself the duty of investigating 'poetically', even finding things in the work that Hogarth could not have intended, though he insisted that they be consistent with a Hogarthian spirit.²¹ This was not only a matter of assuming poetic licence, but the insight that the variety of materials in the pictures challenged the observer's ability to make deductions and see associations.

Variety is the principal idea of Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty*; it is supposed to contain all the other qualities of painting.²² Now the *Analysis* is unusual, even eccentric, as a treatise on art in leaving aside as far as possible the matter of the subject of the painting, in favour of a close consideration of the effect and function of painterly structure and design. The second major idea, closely associated with Variety, is Intricacy, which Mylius/Lessing translate as 'Verwickelung' or entanglement, possibly to suggest also ideas of difficulty and complication.²³ Hogarth knew of the aesthetic pleasures that the resolution of difficulties of interpretation could bring. In his aesthetic treatise he wrote eloquently of the experience of visual pleasure that a complex figuration allows in images, so it is surely legitimate to transfer this understanding to the factual relations in his graphic works, particularly as Hogarth himself spoke of the special pleasure of solving puzzles.²⁴ The qualities of this special pleasure were analysed in various ways in English aesthetics. Alexander Gerard in his *Essay on Taste* of 1759 noted the satisfaction of discovering unexpected analogies, and that the pleasure increases the more difficult they are to track down. The pleasure, according to Gerard, resulted from the liberation of one's own processes of association.²⁵ Such aesthetic pleasure constitutes a value of its own, it is in principle independent of the idea that a work can have an unequivocal meaning.

An approach to Hogarth based on the application of such an idea, however, presents weighty problems of method, particularly in the light of recent art-historical discussions of the aesthetics of reception, and the role of the observer in the construction of meaning, such as the implied reader (Iser)²⁶ or observer (Kemp).²⁷ Furthermore, there is the semiotics of the open work of art (Eco),²⁸ whose signs or sign systems can, in their relationship to the mind's response, allow

limitless possibilities. Discourse analysis questions fundamentally the idea of the author's intentionality, seeing the work in relationship not just to pictorial signs, but as opening up from the image an abundance of discourses and contexts arising from its historical position. Again the implications go far beyond any unified explanation. To assume that a work has a finite, exhaustible meaning is erroneous, according to the tenets of discourse analysis, for this implies that a whole series of contexts (evoked by allusions) is suppressed when they should be brought to the surface. Discourse analysis may also dispute the legitimacy of privileging certain texts or contexts. Following Derrida's deconstruction, discourse analysis argues that the ending of the division between primary and secondary meaning of a work of art allows for the full potentiality of meaning(s) to develop.²⁹ It is the application of this argument to Hogarth, as in the studies by Peter Wagner,³⁰ that has drawn a strong response from intentionalists (Paulson),³¹ who work from an assumption that the author's intention can be identified and seek to reconstruct it. Sean Shesgreen long ago pointed out, in his reading of Hogarth's *Industry and Idleness*, that the abundance of realistic details and their undoubted signification in a picture hinder the fixing of specific meaning.³² I would argue that this phenomenon is not only, in the sense of discourse analysis, a hermeneutic one, but just as much an historical one. For this reason I believe that one should consider Hogarth's prints in terms of their structure, in relationship to the history of artistic practice. One should also read Hogarthian imagery as an individual answer to the question of how graphic imagery functions at a certain historical point. We should certainly not call into question the legitimacy of readings based on hidden subtexts, but it is important that we continue to discriminate between good and bad readings; after all, deconstruction, if practised insensitively, can end up as an ignorant imposition on the subject. Thus we might have done without a recent interpretation of *Marriage A-la-Mode* as a story based upon incest.³³

On the basis of these preliminary methodical points I would now like to offer a detailed interpretative reading of two scenes from *Marriage A-la-Mode* that unashamedly reflects my own enjoyment of the works and makes no claim to exhaust all possible readings. (In any case this has for all practical purposes been done already by Robert Cowley in his book of 1983.)³⁴ My aim, on the contrary, is only to raise the possibility of a reading that is at least historically plausible, if by no means definitive. I have chosen scene 1, because there the plot is developed, and scene 5, which is the dramatic highpoint of the action.

Marriage A-la-Mode, scene 1: suggestions for a reading

The plot of the series

It is the story of a social misalliance which is developed here.³⁵ In brief, the daughter of a wealthy bourgeois is to be married to a poor but highborn son of a nobleman. The moral of the story: acquired merchant wealth and blue blood do not mix, if the aim of the venture is to ennoble the bourgeois and consolidate the nobleman

through bourgeois capital. The alliance of such interests cannot end in stability, because the partners inevitably have quite separate and ultimately conflicting interests. The husband, who himself is sexually promiscuous, eventually surprises his wife with her lover, and in a night-time duel he, the husband, is killed. She returns, burdened with shame, to her bourgeois family home and commits suicide. The child of the marriage will not continue the dynasty, because he has inherited the venereal disease of the father, and thus a dynasty going back to William the Conqueror will end imminently: a real horror story.

Scene 1 (figure 6) gives a view into a magnificent reception room, appropriate to a noble family, as the marriage contract is agreed. If the coroneted canopy behind the Earl of Squander is a bed canopy, we may assume that the reception is being held, in accordance with the customs of the higher nobility, in a splendid bedroom. We are there to witness a special levee, held by a grandee on the rebound after a financial setback. The fathers of the couple settle their differences in characteristic and quite different ways. The gout-stricken peer adopts a pose suggesting his importance, gesturing towards his family tree. Despite his gout and crutches he exudes baroque opulence and grace, and his counterpart at the table, a rich merchant, is portrayed as no less characteristic of his own class. He studies the marriage contract with the help of a pair of *pince-nez*, to ensure that everything is in order, mouthing the words he reads. And how he sits! The grand chair does not improve his posture; he sits upright and somewhat awkwardly with his legs uncrossed, and one is aware of the weight of his stomach. The peer has gout, but his bandaged foot rests on an upholstered footstool, the other by his seat suspended in a slight *contrapposto* above the ground. His body itself serves as a form of decoration. The merchant's money is already on the table in front of him; the peer's debts are now paid, so his lifestyle is no longer faced with a threat to its existence. He can indulge once more his extravagant urge to build in the Palladian style. His gaze does not rest on the profane money, but is directed inwardly. If the merchant were in his place he would count the money.

The examination can go much further into the elements of the scene. The hands can be compared with each other; the bourgeois grasp of the document compared to the play of fingers on the noble breast. One can observe in the bridal pair a reflection of the relation between the fathers, in the ill-tempered way the bride sits and the unconcerned manner of the vain fop. She reveals her feelings; he represses his. If one compares the father with his noble offspring one can see the astonishing subtlety of Hogarth's characterisation. The father acts out a baroque pathos formula; the son, ever *à-la-mode*, adopts the style of the new age, the graceful French rococo. Even the wigs make a similar point: the flowing bag-wig versus the short plait. The situation reminds one of an opera or a play. On a narrow two-levelled strip of stage, the staff are behind the main protagonists and their objects of barter, in a position of subservience. We see the aristocrat's lawyer, already occupied with building plans, and the merchant's office-manager returning the nobleman's promissory notes. They will give the merchant, who, as his chain reveals, is already an alderman

of the City of London, the leverage he needs to enter his daughter into high society. The third of this number, sharpening his quill, is the lawyer, who will play a key role in this unfolding drama. He is given an emphatic presence in the corner of the room, for he will give the course of events a particular direction; his silver tongue, later to be revealed as his actual name, will have a profound effect on the fate of the distraught bartered bride.

Social behaviour

The way in which the different characterisations of aristocrat and merchant reveal, through a command of mimicry and gesture, Hogarth's powers of analysing social distinctions, is reflected in the bride and groom in further stages in the story. It is not, as some critics have claimed,³⁶ a one-sided critique of the aristocracy. What Hogarth criticises is the crossing of class barriers, on the one hand by bourgeois presumption, and on the other by demeaning noble standards of conduct. Neither aristocrat nor merchant brings honour to his rank. To express this Hogarth characterises his protagonists' behaviour down to the last detail, and one must follow him into this detail to realise that the artist has not only created a recognisable picture of social class itself, but more subtly of the way individuals behave within the framework of class, for it is on this level that his critique achieves its power. Though his intention was evidently not ultimately to question the rationale of class difference, none the less it can be argued that Hogarth's progressive examination of social difference, combining exact description and seemingly neutral evaluation, lit a fuse that set off social dynamite in the later, more progressive, eighteenth century. For with more urgent issues bringing to the fore a comparison between the actual behaviour and the assumed standards of the dominant class, the question of correct, or in the eighteenth-century sense, 'natural' behaviour, becomes a burning issue. This we will confront again with Chodowiecki.

Hogarth's place in his own historical period posed a particular problem, as he realised. Wherever he looked he found bourgeois behaviour to be ugly; his 'line of beauty and of grace' appeared to be descriptive of only what could be found in aristocratic circles. The second of the two large engravings attached to his *Analysis of Beauty* (plate 14) shows this clearly. Only the pair of dancers on the far left – the sash reveals the man to be the Prince of Wales – move with artistic grace; the other couples, all rustic bourgeoisie, hop around helplessly, dragging around their twisted and contorted bodies. They lack the natural ease of courtly elegance.³⁷ This phenomenon was noted by the Dutchman Gerard de Lairese, whose *Schilderboek* of 1707 appeared in English in two volumes in 1738 as *The Art of Painting*. There Hogarth could have read his reflections, as in the German translation of 1728, entitled 'einerley Dinges Tractirung ... die von Personen unterschiedlichen Ranges geschiehet' (Of the treatment of some things ... as done by persons of different rank), accompanied by a relevant illustration (figure 57). Different ways of holding a glass or a spoon are demonstrated; elegant ways of standing or sitting are differentiated; *contrapposto* and easy finger-play on the part of the nobility are contrasted with the stiff stance of

the peasantry. Even the inelegant placing of feet is not unremarked. De Lairese's solution for these problems is in artistic terms an unsatisfactory compromise; bourgeois themes are to be represented by the forms of the nobility, even to the extent of portraying contemporary dress in an antique guise.³⁸

Hogarth takes up a more logical position. He proposes two solutions. His 'modern moral subjects', as a middle genre between the more elevated Italian and the lower Dutch manners, claim an equal status to the elevated manner, on the grounds that their moral dimension gives them an additional qualification. On the other hand – with his *Analysis of Beauty* as an example – Hogarth attempts to separate artistic form and the expression of social rank from each other. Treating formal problems as if they were subject almost to mathematic rules was to achieve this aim. The difficulty of achieving this separation may explain the irritable undertones in the *Analysis* when it attempts to explain the reception of formal effects in a way that can be made to apply to everyone, regardless of their status in the world.



Hogarth's social characterisation is based not only on the representation of human figures, but on the ambience they inhabit. The Earl's furniture, including the picture frames, is as heavily baroque as the space it occupies, and it matches the style and material of his clothes. The large portrait of him as field marshal takes matters a step further, for its typology belongs with Rigaud's grand-manner portraits. The new building seen through the window, the work on which can now recommence, is English Neopalladian, still a new style in the years around 1740. Where specific connections can be made to the individual, then Hogarth can illustrate the social relations through forms of acquisitiveness and display. Hardly an object in the room is unadorned with an earl's coronet, from the bed canopy on the left to the mirror on the right; even the lying dog has a crown stamped on his coat. Lord Squander's pride in his rank is excessive. His portrait is full of the arrogance of rank. A comet shines above his swaggering figure, and he holds Jupiter's lightning-bolt in his hand, following what were to Hogarth the absurd conventions of such portraits. Lord Squander has awarded himself the Order of the Golden Fleece, a decoration that no English general had been awarded for more than 200 years, thus subtly bringing into question his title to nobility.³⁹ His ruinous problems with building also give him away. His new Neopalladian mansion is a cacophony of building rules and architectural orders; on a two-storeyed portico sit four columns upon three below, with Ionic on top of Corinthian demonstrating his ignorance of the Vitruvian canon. The Earl is thus not worthy of the claims of his own class, and later scenes in the *Marriage* teach us that the merchant also falls below the standards of his.

How the painting collection comments on the scene

The collecting of pictures is not only a matter of demonstrating the expectations of rank. The line-up of their themes provides an appropriate setting for a drama of marital distress. The small history paintings make up a veritable chamber of horrors, revelling, supposedly in the classic Italian manner, in torture, martyrdom, murder, slaughter, beheading and other forms of torment. Titian, Domenichino, Guido Reni and other artists have provided the examples.⁴⁰ One is bound, in being faced with such scenes of horror from the antique and the Bible, to derive a morbid pleasure from the variety of reflections they provoke, and to enjoy the free play of mind invited in the way these scenes seem to comment on the persons and scenes involved in the modern marriage. Lichtenberg provided an example of such a process, and Alexander Gerard had already supplied the aesthetic justification.

'Punning': word associations to single objects

The process of interpretation can, however, easily get beyond control. To transfer meaning from text to image or vice versa may go beyond what is reasonable, and it may be impossible to be certain that such a transference is intended. The success of the verbal or visual pun depends ultimately on its artistic persuasiveness.

I want to give four examples, the first being the portrait of Lord Squander as field marshal in the Rigaud-like painting. A cannon is at the moment of being fired off as if from the body of the field marshal himself, and the comets and the wind cause his coat to billow out. The shot, as we can read in different ways, achieves a tragic effect. The place of the cannon half under the field marshal's cloak gives it a sense of being a substitute for his potency, and we might also want to see the little cannon ball being released as representing his own wretched son, whose potency we have a number of reasons to question in the scenes that follow. The extinction of the dynastic line is evidently referred to in the broken branch of the tree, and that appears to be inevitable. If the carrying over of meaning from one level of reality to another is possible, why then should there not be a third or a fourth level? With what authority can we stop the seemingly endless flow of the transference of meaning? Why should the cannon not be seen to be aimed at the Caravaggiesque Medusa head behind the candlestick? It will not be able to do any damage there; on the contrary, for we know that the gaze of the Medusa petrifies.

In my second example the positioning of the Medusa head is very much to the point. For in the oval behind a rococo candlestick we see not a painting but a mirror reflecting the scene around it. Then our gaze would be reflected not by our own figure, but by the spellbinding Medusa. No wonder Lichtenberg speaks of the family Medusa.⁴¹ Hogarth plays a second game with the mirror motif. One might well assume the idle son of the earl to be entranced by his own image, as he preens himself narcissistically in front of the great wall mirror, as if in his blindness he is aware only of himself. If we, on the other hand, look at it as spectators of the picture, we see not him but his rival the lawyer, and we are forced to realise that we have in a sense exchanged places with the complacent fop.⁴²

The lawyer – my third example – sharpens his pen, ostensibly and according to the plot to certify the document. He sharpens also his argument, in dominating the young countess, and bringing her to the path of misfortune that follows. Though Silvertongue appears at this point to be spared any apprehension, does he realise that the pen that he holds pointing towards his breast appears to threaten him like the arrow of St Sebastian on the wall above him? Too much of a coincidence or not?

Fourth example: the old aristocrat has the gout, and his crutches rest to his left and right on the sofa. The sign of the coronet appears even on the arm supports. Nobility is, so to speak, the crutch of his existence, as is his hopeless son on the other sofa. What then do the large black ribbons of his modish pigtail conceal? Surely the coronet in the middle of the curved back of the sofa he makes disappear. One could – unless one wants to give up now – make something of the fact that one coin remains in the moneybag on the floor by the feet of the fussy merchant. Would Hogarth have left it there without some reason?

Hogarth's valuation of historical art and his borrowings

The paintings on the walls of the drawing room, as we have established, are a mark of the social sphere of the aristocracy, and also comment on the events of

the fashionable marriage and its consequences. In so doing they suggest that a limited reading is unlikely to be definitive. A major theme of Hogarth's art is the argument with artistic traditions. His main question is: can traditional art retain a value in the present? To remain with the example of a painting of St Sebastian, can it retain its centuries-old exemplary role from a Christian as well as an artistic point of view, or are we dealing with an historical hiatus, so that it now only has meaning as part of a tradition that can be referred to as such? Or to put it another way: what use is a classical image that can only have meaning as a quotation, so that a sense of its achievement in its own terms is now lost? There is some evidence that Hogarth discovered that to be a problem.

For the moment only a minor example. The two dogs chained together in the foreground right are obviously a fairly direct quote from Veronese's famous *Marriage Feast at Cana*, which the painter made for the Refectory of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice in 1563 (figure 58).⁴³ It was widely distributed in graphic reproductions, and in 1740 the Englishman John Baptist Jackson produced a large colour woodcut of it.⁴⁴ In the original painting both greyhounds – one lying, the other standing – find themselves on the absolute middle axis in the foreground beneath Jesus. Hogarth could well have been aware of this elegantly pleasurable motif, there as if for its own sake. It was well known in the Venetian art of its time, and it was much discussed in art theory subsequent to the Counter-Reformation, because it contributed to Veronese being brought before the Inquisition, where he defended the sovereignty of the painting as the expression of artistic freedom.⁴⁵ By quoting the dogs Hogarth gave a piece of art history a function as commentary. In being chained together, the dogs make an obvious comment on the marriage agreement. There is Venetian art on the wall of the room, and a quotation from it in the foreground, in both cases only referred to; the new pictorial realism finds itself in a sense caught between the two images.

Marriage A-la-Mode, scene 5: the transformation of Christian iconography

It is in the varied ways in which Hogarth reveals his position in relation to artistic tradition, to its language and iconography that we can discover his attempt to transform tradition into contemporary currency. Three observations on scene 5 (figure 59), the dramatic highpoint of the marriage sequence, can be made in support of this contention. The plot of the series is simple. The young Countess has embarked on an affair with the lawyer Silvertongue, and after a masquerade they have ended up in a flophouse for an assignation. Her husband has got wind of it, and after breaking into the love nest, and having a duel with his rival, he has been wounded. He now stands dying, his kneeling wife before him gripped by tardy remorse, and some alerted people entering the room, while Silvertongue escapes half-clothed through the window.

We will stay a moment with him, before we turn to the rest of the picture. The crafty lawyer now glides, naked but for a shirt, out of the window, his thigh blatantly exposed. At his feet on the ground is a satyr's mask from the masquerade costume, with a sneering face looking up his leg, as if the obvious sexual point had not already been made. Near the mask is an empty scabbard; the naked sword and scabbard making another obvious point; the satyr, that sexual being, knows well what went on. We also can deduce from the last scene that Silvertongue did not get far in his flight, ending on the Tyburn gallows, his arms are already covered by a convict's shirt. So one might weigh up these connections and perhaps believe that one has exhausted the motif. This would be a fallacy.

58 Paolo Veronese, *Marriage Feast at Cana* (detail) (1562/3)





59 S. Ravenet after W. Hogarth, *Marriage A-la-Mode*, plate 5, 'The Bagnio' (1745)

A wealth of motifs in a sense burdens Hogarth, in removing them from the historical context in which they originally occurred; but in terms of art theory they give an insight into his idea of art. The satyr under the shirt, as it were, suggests both a broad meaning and a particular etymology for the word satire, as being in search of raw nature, impelled to seek out the truth itself. Hogarth has a comparable motif in his subscription ticket for *A Harlot's Progress* of 1730–31, where the context is explicitly art-historical (figure 15). On this print, which he altered in 1737–38 to use as a subscription ticket for another work, classical putti imitate Nature in the form of the many-breasted Diana of Ephesus. She is disturbed in her silence by a little satyr as he reveals what Diana/Nature has under her dress, while another small putto tries to hinder them. In the picture Hogarth has included the verse from Virgil, 'seek out thy ancient mother'. His sympathy is expressed through the satire for the desire to return to the original springs of Nature, behind their classical surface. Under the representation Hogarth, with the help of two short lines of verse from Horace's *Ars*

Poetica, makes the point explicit. The verses can be translated as follows: 'It is necessary for hidden things [or the secrets of things] to be displayed with new signs ... but this freedom is given to us to use tactfully'.⁴⁶ The topos of the unveiling of Nature is an old one – Hogarth knew it from Rubens' version, which was in the collection of his father-in-law, Sir James Thornhill, the King's Painter⁴⁷ – but the painter has given it a new meaning. Nature must not be exposed in perfection, but so as to reveal her dark sides; in this way the satirist can arm himself against her superiority. As Hogarth saw it, classical art as a whole had neglected to take on board this truth, so Hogarth will go back to the sources. For him the traditional iconographical schemata were forms to be used, but applied to a completely new agenda. He treasured the formal qualities of a Raphael, but no longer his subject matter. If he adapted the formal discoveries of the classics, it was not only for aesthetic convictions or because they contain the history of art, but because it was paradoxically a way of demonstrating the creation of the newly powerful.

Marriage, scene 5, offers a specially relevant example of this complex interchange. The central scene of the divided couple follows, as has been seen by some scholars, the figuration of *The Descent from the Cross, with the Mary Magdalen Mourning*.⁴⁸ The assumption of the Magdalen role by the Countess appears not inappropriate, given that she was herself a sinner. But Squanderfield as Christ: isn't that blasphemy? The transfer of this iconographic scheme can hardly be doubted; furthermore there is a direct source that can be identified. It is Rembrandt's *Descent from the Cross* of 1634 in St Petersburg (figure 60),⁴⁹ which is close in spirit to the supremely dramatic Passion series in Munich, painted for the Statthalter. An obvious objection that comes to mind can be rejected; Hogarth knew the original painting, for like other Rembrandts the St Petersburg painting was, in the mid-eighteenth century, in the collection of the father of his acquaintance and supporter Horace Walpole, the son of the prime minister. If the postures of the Earl and Countess are not obviously modelled on Rembrandt's painting, then its influence can be seen in a remarkable motif, apart from the direction of the light and other details. First in his nightcap we see the keeper of the establishment backing away from the scene, one hand raised in astonishment, the other outstretched, holding on to the door frame. It is precisely this motif which seems reminiscent of the fainting Mary which we find in Rembrandt in an eloquent place in the composition in the background, highlighted and separated from the bystanders. By reflecting the earlier figuration, the motif takes on a new purposefulness, and is transformed in a surprising way.

That the major scene derives its iconographic scheme from *Descent from the Cross* Hogarth makes clear in a typical indirect way. Over the door one finds the representation of St Luke with his pen. The evangelist seems to be writing the gospel in a book. This unusual type of diagonal half-length figure derives ultimately from Caravaggio, bringing to mind especially his St Jerome.⁵⁰ From there it was adopted by Dutch Caravaggisti in the seventeenth century, and used for evangelist cycles,⁵¹ often as overdoors (figure 61). Hogarth is extraordinarily precise art historically in



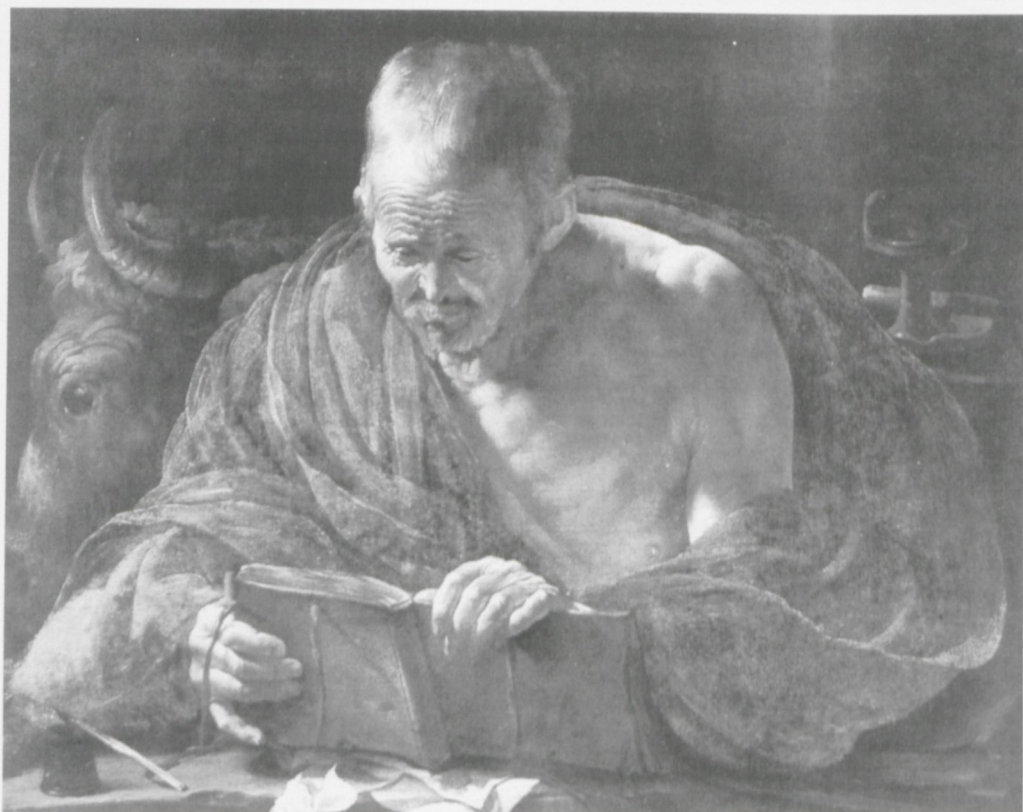
60 Rembrandt, *Descent from the Cross* (1634)

offering St Luke as well to a broader reading. He appears to show the same astonishment at the events in the painting as the innkeeper and the watchman at the door. St Luke is in the position of a painter, whose role according to a common pictorial typology was to hand down the authentic picture of the Madonna and Christ child,⁵² and was accordingly the patron saint of painters. So Hogarth blends together two pictorial types: the inspired saint, author of the gospel, and painter Luke, recording the holy and eternal. The events here presented are indisputably unholy, though presented in a hallowed form. The discrepancy of form and subject gives us the opportunity on two levels to brood over the unholy behaviour of the present, and at the same time to reflect on the validity of Christian paradigms in the face of real conditions. Hogarth appears to doubt that the Christian example in its traditional form can offer a useful influence on the wretched morality of his environment. Clearly a Last Judgement no longer has the power to cause terror, if compared to the exercise of bourgeois justice backed by the threat of the gallows at Tyburn.⁵³ The Christian form appears now fundamentally secularised. Hogarth is thus a disciple of St Luke but obviously without his claim to sainthood.

Ultimately, the undermining of pomposity is a principle of satire, and it is not surprising that the English novelists Fielding, Smollett and Goldsmith incorporated Hogarthian procedures into their enterprises: they also often took over the structural elements of Christian parable and gave it a wholly unchristian treatment.⁵⁴ When Fielding, to take an example from *Joseph Andrews* of 1742, gives as a

chapter heading 'The great Purity of Joseph', we receive a clear signal that Joseph will find himself in the clutches of another Potiphar.⁵⁵ And when Parson Adams is given in the same novel the name of Abraham, we can expect that a comparable kind of sacrifice is in the offing. In the discovery and application of these procedures one can gain an insight into the relativity of such signs, or, to put it another way, into the dissociation of sign and significance. If in traditional signs there is decreed a firm unquestioned connotation that can be applied to a particular subject, the original significance remains bound up with the subject, but if that connotation is inverted then the connection is brought fundamentally into question. The analysis of processes of seeing, of perception and reception, in the tradition of Locke and Newton, has clearly paved the way for such new understandings. The draining away of automatic meanings that can be described objectively, and of the reactions they provoke, has now made responses unequivocally relative, differing from person to person and moment to moment, depending on individual subjects. It raises the question of how painting is to react to these uncertainties. Hogarth offers a possible answer through satirical examination of traditional artistic conventions, but there are other possibilities.

61 Hendrick ter Brugghen, *Saint Luke* (1621)



Chodowiecki and Hogarth

One possible way of reacting to the complete relativity of signs can now finally be considered. Not unexpectedly it was found in the discussion of Hogarth. Daniel Chodowiecki has regrettably since his lifetime always been compared almost unthinkingly with Hogarth. That is also the case with painters in other countries; Greuze was known in his own time as the French Hogarth, and Longhi as the Italian Hogarth,⁵⁶ and it is true that they all belong in a broad sense to the same current of bourgeois moralising art. Indeed Chodowiecki himself would have made a similar claim: why then his obvious tendency to reject being discussed in the same breath as Hogarth? It would be foolish to deny his many-sided dependence on Hogarth.

Already his first important production, *Calas's Farewell to his Family*, painted 1765 and engraved 1767, which in this form achieved a European-wide success, combined motives from Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress*, scenes 7 and 8.⁵⁷ In 1773 he engraved for the *Berliner genealogischer Calender auf das Jahr 1774* twelve plates *Zum Leben eines Lüderlichen* (the Life of a Rake), for which Johann Christian Ludwig Haken wrote a short epistolary novella.⁵⁸ Unquestionably the series led him again to Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress*, most obviously in the dependence of scene 6 (figure 62) on Hogarth's scene 3 (figure 56), and of scene 7 on Hogarth's scene 6. Chodowiecki learned about brothels and gambling dens in detail from Hogarth. It must have been this series, among others, which, through Lichtenberg, brought him the commission for the *Goettinger Taschen Calender vom Jahr 1778*, twelve plates of the *Fortgang der Tugend und des Lasters* (The Progress of Virtue and Vice), with title and idea deriving from Hogarth's *Industry and Idleness*.⁵⁹ If these progresses were a reaction to Lavater's recently published *Physiognomische Fragmente*⁶⁰ in showing the fate of the protagonists only through their heads, the heads were nevertheless, as Lichtenberg noted, 'in the spirit of Hogarth'.⁶¹ Furthermore Lichtenberg had been in England in 1770 and 1774-75, and his descriptions of Chodowiecki's engravings in the Goettingen Calendar from 1778 to 1783 foreshadowed his commentaries on Hogarth. Chodowiecki took over a single motif from Hogarth's prints, – again for Lichtenberg and his calendar – in the *Natürliche und affectirte Handlungen des Lebens* (Natural and Affected Attitudes), engraved 1778 and published 1779, which comes from Hogarth's plate *Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism* of 1762.⁶² Chodowiecki had also taken over the well-known episode of the escape through the window from *Marriage A-la-Mode*, scene 5, for scene 4 of his illustrations to Müller von Itzehoe (figure 63).⁶³ And the whole marriage saga of Chodowiecki's twelve plates for *Beweggründe zum Heirathen und ihre Folgen* (Motives for Marriage and their Consequences) of 1788 was plundered, even in the closeness of the title.⁶⁴ Finally in the same year he offered two plates for the third part of Bretzner's *Leben eines Lüderlichen*, again, even if not quite so directly, taken from the brothel and gambling scenes in *A Rake's Progress*, the unavoidable prototype. In his brothel scenes he even went to the edge of plagiarism.⁶⁵

Nonetheless Chodowiecki did distance himself from Hogarth. He took Hogarth's motifs and ideas with great freedom, but he disliked Hogarth's general direction. Hogarth was a satirist and social critic; Chodowiecki offered strong persuasion through positive examples. Hogarth observed a permanent perversion of feeling in the world; Chodowiecki believed in truth and purity. In other words, it was moral satire versus moral preaching. Chodowiecki, who illustrated almost everything that had newly appeared in Europe, avoided Fielding's novels and twice illustrated Richardson's *Clarissa Harlowe* with a total of thirty-nine illustrations.⁶⁶ Fielding based his parody *Shamela* on Richardson's bestseller *Pamela*. Richardson, who had studied Hogarth's material, offered him a title-page for the second edition of *Pamela*,⁶⁷ but on seeing the sketch turned it down, realising that Hogarth was quite wrong for the job.⁶⁸ A more appropriate illustrator was Joseph Highmore (figure 64), whose ethereally virtuous puppets Chodowiecki would

62 Daniel Chodowiecki, *Leben eines Lüderlichen*, plate 6 (1772)



Praktische Kenntniß der Welt.

63 Daniel Chodowiecki, illustration for J.G. Müller, *Sigfried von Lindenberg*, Scene 4 (1783)



Will dir die schöne Sifvies gefegnen

1. Th. 21. S.



64 Joseph Highmore, illustration for Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*, Scene VI, 'Pamela shows Mr Williams a Hiding Place for her Letters' (1744)

have admired.⁶⁹ Lichtenberg was cut from the same timber as Hogarth. In his commentary on Chodowiecki's *Fortgang der Tugend und des Lasters* he had simply no desire to say anything about virtue, but vice stimulated him and brought his verbal wit to the boil.

That is one consideration, but another does Chodowiecki more honour, and indicates the difference in generations between him and Hogarth. Chodowiecki was thirty years younger than Hogarth. Hogarth's major series derive from the 1730s and 1740s, Chodowiecki's from the 1770s and 1780s: early Enlightenment versus late Enlightenment, pragmatism (and in the later Hogarth, pessimism) versus the cult of sensibility.⁷⁰ The historical transition from Hogarth to Chodowiecki is revealed in the way Hogarth shows his characters in relation to association and combination, and he always leaves his imprint on his language of signs. The objects comment on his protagonists, their being, their motives, the inevitability of their destiny. Chodowiecki, by contrast, gives a sense of an inward life that does not find expression in an almost automatic bodily response, and he in a sense knows that he must give room to the projection of the observer's own space.

This projection gives the open, rather expressionless faces of his figures not only an inner life, but a sense of filling the gap, something that later eighteenth-century commentators apparently found very satisfactory, and it is this that may explain the unbounded popularity of Chodowiecki's rather banal prints. Around 1770, one can speak of a longing for truth that could result in emotional self-experience. One should no longer read inwardness as a sign of bourgeois loss of power, especially as it was judged to be a means of self-definition, enabling the monopolisation of nature and truth as a powerful argument against aristocratic behaviour and courtly elegance which Hogarth had still seen as a natural form of grace.

Chodowiecki's series, *Natürliche und affectirte Handlungen des Lebens* (Natural and Affected Attitudes) proposes a new model of feeling even in the observation of art (figures 65 and 66).⁷¹ The proper appreciation of art comes now from an

65 Daniel Chodowiecki, *Natürliche und affectirte Handlungen des Lebens*, plate 7 (1779)



Kunst Kenntniss
Connoissance des Arts

66 Daniel Chodowiecki, *Natürliche und affectirte Handlungen des Lebens*, plate 8 (1779)



Kunst Kenntniss
Connoissance des Arts

absorption in the work. The effect is to give confidence, not by means of prescription, in speaking one's own voice, even for those with an average competence in dealing with ideas. Thus the bourgeois amateur humbly welcomed in Chodowiecki the appeal of the work, differentiating himself from the nobility who gesticulate grandly before the work instead of contemplating it. The work itself might also make its response; the object of contemplation, a statue of Flora or Pomona, reacts to conventionally unreasonable demands by a grim expression, but reflects bourgeois devotion with a discreet smile of approval. In light of such communication, the beholder, acting art-historically, is asked to give the work a kind of soulful attention, improving in this way his own sensibility and a new form of competence.

Translated by David Bindman and Peter Wagner

Notes

- 1 André Rouquet, *Lettres de Monsieur ** à un de ses amis a Paris, pour lui expliquer les Estampes de Monsieur Hogarth* (London: R. Dodsley, 1746). On this work, see Johannes Dobai, *Die Kunstliteratur des Klassizismus und der Romantik in England, vol. 2, 1750–1790* (Bern: Benteli Verlag, 1975), pp. 696f.; Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth, vol. 2, High Art and Low, 1732–1750* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992), pp. 264–7.
- 2 A German translation of Rouquet can be found in *Wilhelm Hogarth, Zergliederung der Schönheit, die schwankenden Begriffe von dem Geschmack festzusetzen. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt von C. Mylius*, improved and expanded edn (Berlin and Potsdam, 1754), pp. 93–111. For Hogarth's characters, see p. 95.
- 3 *Ibid.*, seventh page of Preface.
- 4 *Ibid.*
- 5 For a brief collection of the multifarious German reactions to Hogarth see Dobai, *Die Kunstliteratur des Klassizismus*, pp. 685–92; on Hogarth and Parent, see J. Dobai, 'William Hogarth and Antoine Parent', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 31 (1968): 336–82. See also *Hogarth und die Nachwelt. Von Lichtenberg bis Hrdlicka*, exhib. cat., Göttingen University, 1988.
- 6 On these issues see Claudia S. Cremer, *Hagedorns Geschmack. Studien zur Kunstkennerchaft in Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert* (Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1989), pp. 312–14.
- 7 For Hogarth and Fielding and the term 'comic history painter' see P. J. de Voogd, *Henry Fielding and William Hogarth: The Correspondences of the Arts* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1981), and Paulson, *Hogarth*, vol. 2, pp. 185–202.
- 8 John Trusler, *Hogarth Moralized, Being a Complete Edition of Hogarth's Works* (London, 1768).
- 9 Exhibition catalogue, *William Hogarth, Kupferstich als moralische Schaubühne*, Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Münster (Stuttgart: Verlag Gert Hatje, 1987), p. 10.
- 10 Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, ed. J. Dallaway and R. Wornum, 3 vols (London, 1849), vol. 3, p. 721.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 725.

- 12 For an interpretation of the early biographies see Dobai, *Die Kunstliteratur des Klassizismus*, pp. 703–5, 713f.
- 13 On Hogarth and Lichtenberg see P. K. Schuster, 'Kunsthistorisches zu Lichtenbergs Hogarth-Erklärungen', *Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, 49 (1975): 138–48; R. Wehrli, *G. C. Lichtenbergs ausführliche Erklärungen der Hogarthischen Kupferstiche: Versuch einer Interpretation des Interpretieren* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1980); F. Burwick, 'The hermeneutics of Lichtenberg's interpretation of Hogarth', *Lessing Yearbook*, 19 (1987): 167–91; K. Herding, "'Die Schönheit wandelt auf den Straßen": Lichtenberg zur Bildsatire seiner Zeit', in J. Zimmermann, ed., *Streifzüge der Phantasie: Über Georg Christoph Lichtenberg* (Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz Verlag, 1988), pp. 19–59.
- 14 One of many examples is the Münster catalogue cited in note 9.
- 15 Frederick Antal, *Hogarth und seine Stellung in der europäischen Kunst* (Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1966); and the exhibition catalogue *William Hogarth 1697–1764*, Neue Gesellschaft für Bildende Kunst Berlin, Staatliche Kunsthalle Berlin (Berlin: Anabas Verlag Gießen, 1980).
- 16 Paulson, *Hogarth*, vol. 2, pp. 185–202, draws particular attention to the relations between Hogarth and the English novel.
- 17 D. Bindman, *Hogarth and his Times: Serious Comedy* (London: British Museum, 1997), esp. ch. 3, pp. 33–40.
- 18 M. Klinger Lindberg, 'William Hogarth's theatrical writings: the interplay between theatre, his theories and his art', *Theatre Notebook*, 47 (1993): 29–41; 'Dramatic analogues in William Hogarth's "Marriage A-la-mode"', in J. Möller (ed.), *Hogarth in Context* (Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 1996), pp. 72–86.
- 19 J. Egerton, *Hogarth's 'Marriage A-la-Mode'* (London: National Gallery, 1997).
- 20 See R. Paulson, *Hogarth: His Life, Art, and Times*, 2 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971); and W. Busch, *Nachahmung als bürgerliches Kunstprinzip. Ikonographische Zitate bei Hogarth und in seiner Nachfolge* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1977). Both critics have repeatedly focused their attention on these connections. See especially Paulson, *Hogarth*, vol. 2, pp. 20–3; and W. Busch, *Das sentimentalische Bild. Die Krise der Kunst im 18. Jahrhundert und die Geburt der Moderne* (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1993), pp. 62f.; 248–50, 254–63, 279–94.
- 21 For the quotations see *G. C. Lichtenbergs ausführliche Erklärungen der Hogarthischen Kupferstiche, mit verkleinerten, aber vollständigen Copien derselben von E. Riepenhausen*, vol. 4 (Göttingen: Verlag J. C. Dieterich und H. Dieterich, 1798), pp. 253 and 35. Lichtenberg also comments on the appropriateness of poetic allusions: see vol. 1 (Göttingen: Verlag J. C. Dieterich und H. Dieterich, 1794), pp. viii, xix–xxi.
- 22 The German edition (cited in note 2 above) translates 'Mannigfaltigkeit': see p. 3f.
- 23 *Ibid.*, pp. 8–11.
- 24 *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- 25 Alexander Gerard, *An Essay on Taste* (London, 1759), Part I, section iv, 'Of the sense or taste of imitation', esp. pp. 49, 56. Also see Busch, *Nachahmung*, pp. 43–9, on this tradition from Addison and Hume, in particular Addison's treatise in eleven parts, 'On the pleasures of the imagination', in the *Spectator*, 21 June – 3 July 1712 (nos 411–21).
- 26 W. Iser, *Der implizite Leser. Kommunikationsformen des Romans von Bunyan bis Beckett* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1972); and his *Der Akt des Lesens. Theorie ästhetischer Wirkung* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1976).

- 27 W. Kemp, *Der Anteil des Betrachters. Rezeptionsästhetische Studien zur Malerei des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Beck, 1983); and W. Kemp, ed., *Der Betrachter ist im Bild. Kunstwissenschaft und Rezeptionsästhetik* (Cologne: Dumont, 1985).
- 28 U. Eco, *Das offene Kunstwerk* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1973).
- 29 For a good collection of French texts see P. Engelmann, ed., *Postmoderne und Dekonstruktion. Texte französischer Philosophen der Gegenwart* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1990); on terminology and theory see Engelmann's introduction, pp. 5–32.
- 30 After a series of articles, see the recent studies, with a particular emphasis on theory: *Reading Iconotexts: From Swift to the French Revolution* (London: Reaktion Books, 1995), esp. ch. 1, 'How to (mis)read prints', pp. 9–35.
- 31 P. Wagner, 'Eroticism in graphic art: the case of William Hogarth', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 21 (1991): 53–75; cf. Paulson's reaction in *Hogarth*, vol. 2, p. 407 n. 28; and Wagner's reaction in note 29, pp. 22, 32f. Also see the feud between Paulson and R. Dorment (quoted in Wagner, *Reading Iconotexts*, p. 178 n. 43), in the *New York Review of Books* (July through October 1993).
- 32 S. Shesgreen, 'Industry and Idleness': a reading', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 9 (1976): 569–98.
- 33 J. Lawson, 'Hogarth's plotting of *Marriage A-la-Mode*', *Word & Image*, 14 (1998): 267–80.
- 34 R. L. S. Cowley, *Marriage A-la-Mode: A Review of Hogarth's Narrative Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983).
- 35 The description of the plot is based on W. Busch, 'Lektüreprobleme bei Hogarth: Zur Mehrdeutigkeit realistischer Kunst', in J. Möller, ed., *Hogarth in Context: Ten Essays and a Bibliography* (Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 1996), pp. 20–2.
- 36 Exhibition catalogue *William Hogarth 1697–1764*, p. 125.
- 37 *Hogarth* (see note 2 above), pp. 10, 32f., 39, and esp. pp. 78–80.
- 38 Gerard de Lairese, *Het groot schilderboek*, 2 vols (Amsterdam, 1707); *Grosses Mahler-Buch*, 2 vols (Nürnberg, 1728–30), vol. 2, p. 60; *The Art of Painting in All its Branches*, trans. J. F. Fritsch, 2 vols (London, 1738); 2nd edn in one vol. (London, 1778). On Lairese's work see Busch, *Das sentimentalische Bild*, pp. 317–22 and figure 93.
- 39 See Cowley, *Marriage A-la-Mode*, pp. 42f.
- 40 For references see Cowley, *Marriage A-la-Mode*, pp. 42–50.
- 41 *Lichtenbergs Ausführliche Erklärungen*, vol. 4, p. 50.
- 42 First noticed by R. Paulson, 'William Hogarth's portrait of Captain Coram by Hildegard Omberg', *The Art Bulletin*, 57 (1975): 293.
- 43 Exhibition catalogue *William Hogarth* (Berlin, 1980), p. 130 and p. 128, figure 86.
- 44 Exhibition catalogue *Imagini dal Veronese. Incisioni dal sec XVI al XIX*. Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome, Villa alla Farnesina alla Lungara. Ed. Paolo Ticozzi (Rome: De Luca Editore, 1978). Cat. no. 111.
- 45 For a short survey of events, see Anthony Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy 1450–1600*, 6th edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), pp. 116f.
- 46 On the contexts see R. Paulson, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, 3rd rev. edn (London: The Print Room, 1989), pp. 75f.
- 47 Rubens and Jan Brueghel, *Nature Adorned by the Graces*, now in Glasgow.
- 48 See Paulson, *Hogarth*, vol. 1, p. 486; and R. Paulson, *The Art of Hogarth* (London, 1975), pp. 38 and 40; Busch, *Nachahmung*, p. 9 and Cowley, *Hogarth's Marriage A-la-Mode*, pp. 136–9.

- 49 Bredius 551.
- 50 E. König, *Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, 1571–1610* (Cologne: Könemann, 1997), figs 45 and 49, and pp. 53–5.
- 51 See esp. the cycle by Hendrick ter Brugghen from Deventer: exhibition catalogue *Holländische Malerei in neuem Licht*, Centraal Museum Utrecht and Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum Braunschweig (Braunschweig, 1986), cat. nos 6–9; exhibition catalogue *Leselust. Niederländische Malerei von Rembrandt bis Vermeer*. Schirn Kunsthalle Frankfurt (Stuttgart: Verlag Gert Hatje, 1993), cat. nos 16–19; also see cat. no. 5 (Bloemaert).
- 52 Gisela Kraut, *Lukas malt die Madonna* (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1986).
- 53 On the ‘end’ of the pictorial tradition of the Last Judgement in connection with Hogarth, see Busch, *Das sentimentalische Bild*, pp. 279–94.
- 54 On this issue see Martin C. Battestin, *The Providence of Wit: Aspects of Form in Augustan Literature and the Arts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 193–214, where Battestin proves that Goldsmith’s *Vicar of Wakefield* is based on the story of Job.
- 55 See Henry Fielding, *Joseph Andrews*, Book I, ch. 5.
- 56 See W. Busch, ‘Überlegungen zur Hogarth-Rezeption bei Chodowiecki und Kaulbach’, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, 46 (1992): 9.
- 57 J. H. Bauer, *Daniel Nikolaus Chodowiecki: Das druckgraphische Werk* (Hannover: Verlag Galerie J.-H. Bauer, 1982), cat. no. 50 (E 48), hereafter quoted as Bauer. For detailed information on ‘Calas’ and the sources see Busch, *Das sentimentalische Bild*, pp. 39–51.
- 58 Bauer, 152–63 (E. 90 II b).
- 59 Bauer, 381–92 (E. 188 II).
- 60 Johann Caspar Lavater, *Physiognomische Fragmente*, 4 vols (Leipzig, 1775–78).
- 61 Quoted after Bauer, p. 71.
- 62 Bauer, 558 (E. 256 II).
- 63 Bauer, 1015 (E. 480 II).
- 64 Bauer, 1332–43 (E. 598 II).
- 65 Bauer, 1329–30 (E. 594 and 595).
- 66 Bauer, 1129–43 (E. 521 II–527 II and 550–7); 1852–75 (E. 797 II, 798 II, 799 III–806 III, 807 II, 808 II, 809 III–811 III, 812 II, 813 III, 814 III, 815 II–820 II).
- 67 See Paulson, *Hogarth*, vol. 2, pp. 186–98.
- 68 See Brian Allen, *Francis Hayman* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 150f. (note 81).
- 69 On Highmore’s cycle see exhibition catalogue *Manners and Morals: Hogarth and British Painting 1700–1760*. (London: The Tate Gallery, 1987), nos 134–45.
- 70 On the cult of sensibility see J. Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986). On sensibility in art, see W. Busch, ‘Das “Einfigurenhistorienbild” und der Sensibilitätskult des 18. Jahrhunderts’, in Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf exhibition catalogue *Angelika Kauffmann*, ed. Bettina Baumgärtel (Ostfildern-Ruit: Verlag Gert Hatje, 1998), pp. 40–6.
- 71 Bauer, 571 and 572 (E. 319 II).